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Fellowship

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WENTINK, de GRAAF, HUGENHOLTZ *Dutch Pacifists*

Tested and Not Found Wanting. by George Houser

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ff Meeting the pacifist leaders of Europe, who are only names to most of us, is an exciting experience for any American pacifist. Three of the men George Houser and Al Hassler met in Holland are pictured on the cover this month, and figure in George's article "Tested and Not Found Wanting." Jacob Wentink is secretary of *Kerk en Vrede* (the Dutch FOR), and Hannes de Graaf chairman. Dr. J. B. Th. Hugenholtz, former chairman and best-known of the Dutch pacifists, completes the trio. The picture was taken by Al Hassler when he and George were in Amsterdam last May. . . . "Japan's Struggle for Peace" tells the exciting story of the peace movement that is growing in Japan today. The author is a Buddhist priest and a pacifist. . . . An extremely interesting and penetrating article by Helen Mears shows how the Voice of America is being drowned out by our other voices, which frequently contradict its peace-loving message and tell a different story entirely to the world. . . . Kirby Page, well-known lecturer and author of many books, contributes a meditation.

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The Voices of America

By HELEN MEARS

DURING A RECENT foreign policy debate Senator McMahon said that the Russians had been "dangerously successful" with the propaganda that it was the Americans who were the "warmongers." This complaint is frequently heard, and is usually coupled with the charge that the official "Voice of America" is not sufficiently effective in doing its job of telling the world about our "true intentions."

As Americans see it, these "true intentions" are clear enough. The United States Government and the American people, of course, are working constantly for peace. Since the end of World War II we have lavishly spent our wealth and our energies trying to create a world in which all "free" and "peace-loving" people can steadily progress toward a higher standard of living, freedom, and human dignity. If the United States Government has not been successful in achieving these aims it is because the Soviet Union and its "Communist agents and satellites" have deliberately and maliciously "sabotaged our efforts," created confusion, and finally embarked on a "naked aggression" to fulfil their aim of "world conquest."

Surely this is a clear and simple story. And the official "Voice of America" does, in fact, broadcast it constantly about the world. Why isn't it more convincing?

Perhaps one reason is that the official "Voice of America" is in constant competition with the other Voices of America which only too often seem to deny the clear and simple story outlined above. The Voices of America, as they come over the radio and are reported in the press—from the White House,

the Pentagon, and Congress; from our scientists, war correspondents, military experts and editorial writers—tend increasingly to express the attitudes and policies our official Voice denounces rather than those it praises.

How then are other people to know which Voices express our true intentions?

Words of Peace?

Our President declares that he is working for peace. Do his public statements confirm this? For example, in an address in Kansas City last December 23, the President called for a "moral mobilization" to meet the menace of the "inheritors of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane who were the greatest murderers in the history of the world." On September 18, in another speech, he declared that a "Beast of Prey" ruled the Russians, and the next day brushed aside any idea of a treaty with Moscow because he said Bolshevik treaty agreements were false, and not worth the paper they were written on. Are these the words of a man who is striving for peace, or of a man who is arousing emotion behind a war?

The United States Government according to the President, the State Department, and its representatives in the United Nations, is working steadily for peace. Shall the peoples of the world accept this as a fact? On January 15, Senator Styles Bridges made a speech, widely reported, in which he said:

"America is fighting World War III today—now! Make no mistake. And not one of America's leaders has dared to tell the people this simple truth—a truth so evident that the people can see it for themselves. . . .

"When a nation engages in war its foreign policy is replaced by its strategic concept of how to gain the victory. Our debate is not with regard to policy. The issue is one of strategy. It is not how to prevent war. It is how to win that war."

The facts of American policy would appear to support the Senator rather than the official Voice. On December 15, last year, the President proclaimed a state of National Emergency that gave him virtually dictatorial power over the nation's economic life, and millions of our people. The President appointed a Director of War Mobilization who immediately went into high gear in organizing our industry and gearing it to war production. While Universal Military Service and Training was still being debated, the draft was stepped up so that young men were fleeing from their classrooms into the Air Force and Navy to avoid being drafted into the Army. Doctors are subject to the draft. Industry is shifting from peace to war production. Prices and wages (or at least wages) are being frozen. Meanwhile the President, and his Deputy stand by with power enough to dictate our future job to most of the rest of us. All this may be a sincere effort to preserve democracy, and peace. The danger is clearly grave that we will surrender democracy without even knowing we have done so; as the danger is grave that other people will assume that such elaborate preparations for war mean, and intend, war.

Last January 15, the President presented a "crisis" budget calling for $140 billion to be spent during the next two years for war preparations. Nobody asked him

what particular event made this particular moment so critical that we must spend virtually double our already vast appropriation for war, and must spend around 85 cents of every budget dollar on war preparations. (In September he asked for an increase in this year's appropriation for war amounting to $60 billion.)

While this crisis budget was being debated, a special committee of the UN was striving to work out a solution so that the fighting would stop, and the problems which led to the fighting might be solved. Alone of the major powers, the United States Government opposed making a conciliatory gesture to the Chinese People's Republic. Our representative in the UN, Mr. Austin, addressing the Political Committee, asked with considerable indignation how we could negotiate with the Chinese Communists while American boys were being killed. Other nations must have asked themselves whether this was logical since, if the UN Commission's attempt at negotiation was successful, the fighting would stop and Americans need no longer be killed. Almost while Mr. Austin was opposing concessions and urging condemnation of the Chinese, with sanctions, General Marshall was telling a Congressional Committee that we would need 15,000 more young Americans each month to keep our military action going.

On June 26, Russia's UN representative Jacob Malik had just suggested a truce in Korea, and the headline "Red China Backs Malik Move; Truman Ready for 'Real' Peace" streamed across the front page of the New York *Herald Tribune*. Also prominently displayed was: "Wilson (Director of Defense Mobilization) Opposes Letdown After a Korea Peace." Mr. Wilson warned against weakening the defense drive, and said, "If the Korean war should end tomorrow, we could not afford for an instant to relax our vigilance and weaken our plans." Three days later President Truman signed the bill to draft 18½-year-olds, and set up a commission to make plans for UMT, and General Marshall hailed the law as a "historic step."

Huge Appropriations

The fact of our vast appropriations for war is on the record. These appropriations have by now risen to such stratospheric heights that most Americans prefer to forget them. Representatives of foreign governments—especially those whom we officially call our enemies—keep track of them, however. They also note to what use we put these vast sums. Our government tells us that these expenditures are "defensive." Other people will note that we have been concentrating on weapons of mass obliteration—giant bombers, carriers for A-bomb planes, and atomic weapons. We have appropriated vast sums to develop the H-bomb—hardly, perhaps, a convincing symbol for a peace-loving people. We have been perfecting our atomic weapons so that our "Nagasaki bomb" is already "old-fashioned," and we have been experimenting to supplement these "conventional" A-bombs by a wide variety of atomic weapons which, according to the press, are either in production or in late experimental stages. Before long we expect to have supplies of such handy gadgets as baby A-bombs, atomic war-heads for rockets and artillery shells, engines for

submarines, and so on, so that every branch of the service will be equipped with its own special sort of atomic weapon.

Preparations Accelerate

Studying our press to learn our true intentions the reader will note that our war preparations are accelerating, and will mark also the fact that if there are many Americans who disapprove of this, at least they don't make headlines. A single issue of the New York *Times* (January 19, 1951) among similar other items, carried these:

(1) Charles E. Wilson, Director of Defense (war) Mobilization, announced that he was planning for an immediate step-up in plane production to 50,000 a year with a capacity to produce 100,000 if war should come. He explained that it is not wise to step up production too rapidly because we are improving our models at such a pace that if we are not careful, and if war should be delayed, we will be stuck with a lot of "obsolete" numbers. For example, "A jet plane which I thought was a honey a year ago is now obsolete."

(2) It was announced that the Air Force was to be expanded to between 95 to 100 groups. (In October the ante was raised to 140.)

(3) It was announced that Chrysler is to build a new Super-Tank.

(4) Maj. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, Director of Selective Service, told a Senate Preparedness Subcommittee that 18-year-olds must be drafted (even the Russians don't take them till 19). He said also that these 18-year-olds must be used "when and where they must be used for our survival." General Hershey told reporters, "Yes, I have said that we need killers. I prefer to tell the truth bluntly rather than try to make young men think they're going on a picnic when they get into the service."

(5) Editorial said that Universal Military Training and Service was not only essential, but democratic.

(6) Editorial on UN relations to the Peiping Government denounced the idea of conciliation.

(7) Interview with a handsome young Air Force officer—Gen. Emmett O'Donnell — returning from six months' direction of strategic bombing in Korea to take direction of strategic bombing programs in the Pentagon. The General told a press conference that the U. S. was engaged in a global war and that it should be called by its right name. He was impatient with UN reluctance to use the A-bomb against the Chinese and said, "Eventually we're going to have to cope with this realistically and courageously, not put the Marquis of Queensberry rules on it and have to cope with a thug who's going to hit you in the back of the head with an ax." He said: "If we're going to fight, for heaven's sake let's go all-out. Let's use our own technological developments at a time of our own choosing. Let's not get mixed up in a brawl with a lot of knotheads." The General did not explain who these "knotheads" were, but the implication was that he was referring to members of the UN Truce Committee who were attempting to find grounds for negotiation. Asked for his opinion as to whether we would get along better if we bombed Chinese territory he said, "If we could go into the ultimate weapon, I think we'd be very effective. I don't think conventional bombing would have an

appreciable effect—although it would do a lot of damage."

What emerges from this random partial sampling of one day's news?

(1) The U. S. is engaged in preparing for an all-out war.

(2) Public opinion, as represented by the editorial views of a highly respected conservative newspaper, thoroughly approves a nonconciliatory attitude.

(3) The U. S. Air Force, as represented by a man who had great authority in the field in the last war, has had a similar authority in this one, and who is now in the Pentagon planning for the future, has not the smallest notion that there is any distinction between a "UN police action" designed to reduce the danger of all-out war, and a good old knock-down drag-out war with no holds barred. It suggests also that the U. S. Air Force has reached a point of being so conditioned to the vast and terrible destruction of atomic weapons that they are positively bored with the idea of using anything less lethal.

(4) Public opinion in the U. S., again represented by a conservative newspaper, declares that UMT is democratic. Since UMT was one of the tests the U. S. applied in the pre-World-War-II period to prove that other nations were "militaristic," it suggests that American definitions of "democracy" and "militarism" tend to change with changing conditions, or to depend on who is applying them to whom. If this is so—and any attentive reader of our press will find dozens of suggestive examples—then foreign countries need not choose between the U. S. and the USSR on on the basis of democratic principles, since there is no way of knowing how long Americans will remain faithful to such principles.

Contrary Voices

The Voice of America constantly explains that the U. S. Government wants peace with the Russians, Koreans and Chinese, yet the Voices that rise from our headlines are provocative rather than conciliatory. "Truman Discounts Soviet 'Peace' Bid," (N. Y. *Times*, August 21); "U. S. Policy to Halt Reds in Asia Bared," (*Times*, October 5); "Yielding to Peiping for Peace in Korea Barred by Acheson," (*Times*, October 6). We Americans, of course, know that we are "peace-loving," but those who know us only through our Voices would get another idea of us altogether. "Truman Justifies War in Indo-China," (*Times*, September 15); "Truman Puts Faith for Peace in Might," (*Times*, September 21); "Acheson Stresses Need of Strength," (*Times*, September 27). The periodical *U. S. News and World Report* for October 3 carried the double headlines "U. S. to Go in Red by Billions," and "Admiral Fechteler Says 'We Can't Be Invaded'."

Americans, who are busy people, can give all this a once-over-lightly and go on to Hopalong Cassidy. Governments that we have officially called our "enemies," and governments and people of countries that lie between us and our enemies, must pay more attention. For these random selections can be repeated every day in hundreds of newspapers and magazines.

The general indifference of Americans to the implications of these Voices is astonishing. It is the more astonishing when we consider what our current policies are costing us. Our federal taxes today are only $27 billion short of *double* our wartime peak, which means

that, having thoroughly destroyed our enemies of World War II, we are now spending almost twice as much to "defend" ourselves against our wartime allies!

Fear Won't Decide

The Voice of America insists that all our billions spent on war preparation are intended as a deterrent to war. The answer to that can be learned in Korea. The United States had its powerful naval and air forces in operation in Korea within twenty-four hours of the news of invasion, yet this fact did not stop the North Koreans. The Chinese know, of course, that the mechanized might of the U. S.—even without allies—is so vastly superior to their own that in terms of modern military power we are a giant and they a pygmy. The Chinese nonetheless joined the North Koreans. The fact is that peoples fight—no matter what the odds against them—if their government and military leaders can persuade them that their "national security" is threatened by foreign foes. We Americans ourselves have proved how easily peoples are thus persuaded.

Our government and military leaders have used the Korean war to justify the expenditure of ever mounting billions with which to triple our Air Force, and vastly expand our Navy, Army and Marine Corps. At the same time the press accounts from the front have persistently reported that our military have fought a "profligate," extravagant war, and that our vast military power has actually been a handicap in the type of war we have fought there. In November of last year Hanson Baldwin, the New York *Times'* military expert back from a tour of the front, wrote that "The air was saturated with planes. It was a rich man's air war. . . ."

There were no military targets "worthy" of our powerful, too-swift bombing forces. We could, and did, pulverize towns, cities and villages, as well as railroads, bridges, tunnels and even minor industrial installations. But the enemy troops could hide in the hills, could infiltrate to our rear, could fight in small groups where our powerful weapons could not reach them. While our infantry (most of them boys just out of high school) are digging the Chinese and Korean soldiers out of fox-holes one by one, our professional airmen in their fabulous airplanes are employing themselves with what might be called Operation Camel, as described in the *Times* on January 2:

"The Air Force reported that pilots of jet-propelled F-84 Thunderjets with a speed of hundreds of miles an hour concentrated their attacks on laden enemy animal packtrains. The Thunderjets bag was four packtrain camels, seven oxen, and two horses killed in a midday attack near Hangsu on enemy communication lines."

A Thunderjet costs almost $5 million. Our Air Force has flown thousands of such sorties and dropped hundreds of thousands of tons of explosives and fire-bombs. The result is not "victory," but total destruction of Korea.

In addition to camels and oxen our Air Forces also "bagged" some buildings and villages, as noted in the official communique of January 27:

"More than 180 buildings were destroyed and eighty were damaged. Twelve villages overrun with enemy troops were heavily hit.

"Towns were hit principally in the Seoul sector with 33 reported under attack.

". . . Fifty percent of Changdo was claimed as destroyed."

Similar items appear every day.

"U. S. Far East Forces warplanes flew more than 670 sorties against the enemy Saturday but despite excellent visibility they found a continuing scarcity of 'live' targets between the bomb-spattered railroad marshaling yards in the North and the battle front in central Korea."

"Fifth Air Force light bombers blasted three enemy towns with good results. . . ."

"Sixteen B-26's . . . hit Hadochana again. . . . The invader (U. S.) pilots reported good results with many fires started. . . ."

"F-18 Thunderjets . . . hit a town near Hongchong with rockets and .50 caliber machine-gun fire. Five buildings were claimed destroyed and ten damaged."

"F-84 Thunderjets . . . rocketed and strafed four villages. . . ."

Such facts—proclaimed loudly (and boastfully) by the Voices of our daily press and periodicals—create a static that blocks out the Voice of America as no Soviet propaganda could do. We went into Korea—our Voice says—to halt aggression, restore law and order, and help establish a democratic government. In what way have our powerful bombardments contributed to these objectives? At this moment Korea from South to North is a vast heap of rubble and ruined rice paddy.

Machine Against Man

The fact is that we democratic Americans have worked ourselves into a terrible mess. Until recently our basic philosophy was, quite genuinely and observably, a deep concern for individual human lives. Yet today, in Asia, we appear as the foremost exponent of a mechanized world against unmechanized human beings—the machine against man. Take for example a dispatch by George Barrett from Pusan in the *Times* of January 19 (a powerful piece of reporting), which describes the plight of the "two million refugees, most of them hungry and cold, frantically seeking to escape from the narrowing war front." He tells of some 450,000 of these who have "squeezed themselves into straw-matted shacks and clay cliff caves already holding ten people in places too small for one." He explains that in the midst of such misery death is such an "informal affair" that burials are not only performed without ceremony, but hundreds of bodies lie about unburied until the military authorities "have to step in and take action *if only to clear the way for unhampered military operations.*" (Italics added.) He further describes what he calls "Operation Brat" which is "a kind of left-handed humanitarian project designed to clear the streets of beggar youngsters and war waifs who have been getting too much under foot."

It is the claim of our Voice that all this is "forced" on us. However, our own conservative military analysts point out that our unrestricted bombing is self-defeating even from a practical point of view; and our press and periodicals report that our Air Force is provocative. While our Voice declares constantly that we want peace but the Russians and Chinese are determined on war, our newspapers and periodicals tell a very different story.

Life magazine in a picture-caption feature last January 20 about the war in Korea explained that our jet pilots like to cruise "slowly along the Yalu hoping to lure the Reds into a fight." The *Times* carried similar stories.

Mr. Austin, speaking for us in the UN, has acknowledged that U. S. pilots have bombed a Soviet airbase near Vladivostok, and Chinese territory in Manchuria, destroying property and killing and wounding people. Mr. Austin insists that these events were accidental. In view of such comments as that above, however, it would not be strange if the Russians and Chinese should consider such incidents to be not accidental, but deliberately provocative. Nor can Americans safely ignore such implications. Suppose our pilots lure themselves accidentally over the border and bomb air bases near Vladivostok once too often, and the Russians accept the challenge and World War III explodes. Would we accept without question our Voice should it tell us that the explosion was due to "naked acts of aggression by the forces of Communist imperialism seeking world conquest?"

It is becoming evident that the failure of our Voice abroad is due to the terrible gap between our declared objectives and our accomplishments; between our promises and the fulfilment. A striking illustration of this gap occurs on the first page of the *Times* for February 11. A two-column headline reads: "U. S. Offers to Guard Japan Even After a Peace Treaty." Directly above this headline was printed a three-column picture of a bomb-pulverized Korean town! The "protection" we are offering Japan, like the "protection" we are giving Korea, is virtual extermination.

If our Voice is not convincing it is because it is drowned out by our Voices. Our Voices report our actions. And today our actions speak louder than words.

I have lived to see religion painted upon banners, and thrust out of Churches; . . . and God to be worshipped, not as He is, "the Father of our Lord Jesus," (an afflicted Prince, the King of Sufferings,) nor as the "God of peace," (which two appellatives God newly took upon Him in the New Testament, and glories in forever), but He is owned now rather as "the Lord of Hosts," which title He was pleased to lay aside, when the kingdom of the Gospel was preached by the Prince of Peace. But when religion puts on armor, and God is not acknowledged by His New Testament titles, religion may have in it the power of the sword, but not the power of godliness. . . .

JEREMY TAYLOR, 1613-1667

The pacifists in Europe, veterans of war and economic upheaval, have been

Tested—and Not Found Wanting

By GEORGE M. HOUSER

WHEN AL HASSLER AND I were introduced at an FOR meeting in London, the chairman concluded by saying: "We've had it too easy here in England. The real firing line of pacifism is in America. It is American pacifists who are suffering today."

It took us by surprise because, while things are tightening up, we didn't think we'd had it so tough; but the more so because we are accustomed to thinking of the suffering of our pacifist friends overseas. Probably American pacifists have difficult days in store for them in the not too distant future, but World War II is still too recent and vivid for us to forget that the European pacifists were the ones really tried by fire. They are the ones who had to prove their faith by their works. They have been tested and not found wanting.

They have been tested in two ways that we in the United States have not yet had to face. First, with the exception of Holland and Great Britain, there is no provision for conscientious objectors in European draft laws. This means that any pacifist within the age range of the draft is subject to sentence after sentence from which there is virtually no escape. Second, they have been tested by the wholesale violence and disregard of human rights that inevitably accompanies war. This has meant, of course, that they have shared with their fellow-countrymen the bombings by enemy planes, semi-starvation conditions, inflation prices, loss of their homes, etc. In Germany 10,000,000 people were completely dispossessed by the war. A German FOR member told us of two homes in which she lived during the war which were completely demolished with all her belongings. In addition to all this, European pacifists have been held suspect by neighbors, and faced with imminent arrest or liquidation by their own government or an occupying power. Although this may be our lot in the United States some time in the future (God forbid it here and elsewhere) our faith has not been tested as has that of our comrades overseas. It was inspiring for us to meet so many European pacifists, to hear something of their experiences during the war years, and to see with what inner power they had faced conflict and were today carrying on their creative tasks.

Professor Giovanni Pioli in Milan, Italy, was one such creative personality. He was known as a pacifist and an opponent of the Fascist regime under Mussolini. In 1934 he lost his teaching job on this account and was denied a pension.

For eleven years he had virtually no income, but had to live by what friends could give him.

Picketed Mussolini

In 1939 he was arrested for picketing Mussolini's palace in a public demonstration protesting the attack of Germany on Poland. He served over four months in prison, and for two years after that was confined to his apartment under police surveillance. Every few nights the police invaded it in the small hours and made a thorough search for banned literature or anything else suspicious. His sentence was later commuted because the Pope, a former classmate, intervened on his behalf. Probably the fact that Professor Pioli was already well advanced in years and not able to be as active as formerly contributed to his release. Since 1945 he has been on a pension again, receiving about $50 a month for himself and his housekeeper, barely enough to exist on. He is writing constantly, and spends every spare penny on the distribution of pacifist literature. He has just finished a book on "The Struggle Against Violence," and is trying to raise money to give it adequate distribution.

Fascists Still

Professor Pioli lives in a small apartment on the third floor of a building. The light coming in was very dim and we asked him if he would mind coming downstairs to let us take a picture of him. Apologetically he explained that this building was a center of Fascist activity in Milan. The owners had already tried to evict him, and he did not like to arouse their suspicion again over such a trivial matter as having a couple of foreigners take his picture.

It was a rare experience for us to spend several hours with Philippe Vernier. There are few pacifists in America who have not heard something about this amazing French pastor, now serving a church in Quaregnon, Belgium. When we arrived in Quaregnon on a Saturday, we found Vernier hard at work on a new project of his, a home for old people called Bon Accueil (Welcome). In addition to offering a home for elderly people, Vernier has taken on as workers an unmarried mother, a prison parolee, and a recent patient of a mental institution.

Vernier in Prison

Vernier spent three years in prison between 1933 and 1936, as a conscientious objector in France. It was during this period that he wrote the meditations published in this country in *Not As the World Giveth* and *With the Master*. Again in 1940 he was arrested, and given a four-year sentence. The prison at Clairvaux where both Philippe and his brother Pierre were incarcerated was bombed by the Germans in 1941. The warden was killed by some of the prisoners, and in the face of imminent German control, all the prisoners were told to go home. Philippe and Pierre went to the French authorities to give themselves up, but were told they weren't wanted. Still wearing their prison garb, with convict numbers on their backs, they walked for eight days to join their families at Le Chambon. Three months later Philippe and his family started north toward Quaregnon and his church. The only

papers the family had were signed by André Trocmé and Henri Roser, but they crossed a German police line with these once successfully. The second time, at Amiens, when their papers were demanded, Philippe's youngest child handed the German soldier a candy wrapper. He laughed, and let them through. They arrived home to discover that eighty of their parishioners were having a prayer meeting for their safe return.

Philippe likes to work with his hands, and to work with people. Quaregnon is mining country, where slag heaps dot the countryside like small Mt. Fuji's. Vernier decided to work in the mines for a year, and tried to get a job in his own community, but the foremen, whom he knew well, asked him to go elsewhere because they did not want to give him orders. He took a job in the mine of a nearby village, walking to work and home again every night and doing his pastoral work during the day.

Another of his projects was to make playground space for the children of Quaregnon. It was finally decided to level the top of one of the slag heaps, and over a three-year period more than two hundred volunteer workers gave their labor to make the playground. Twelve thousand tons of slag were moved by hand to accomplish the task. Two years ago the playground was opened at a special ceremony attended by a thousand persons.

It is possible only to hint at the vitality, courage, and resourcefulness of some of the pacifists we met, and others we heard about. We spent a wonderful afternoon in Amsterdam with some of the key persons of the Kerk en Vrede, the Dutch FOR. Three men who deeply impressed us were Professor J. B. Th. Hugenholtz of Ammerstol, Jacob Wentink, secretary of the Kerk en Vrede, and Hannes de Graaf, a pastor. There are about two thousand members of the FOR in Holland, and conscientious objectors have been recognized under the law since 1923. When drafted, COs give three years to some kind of alternative service and are paid what the unemployed get. Men in the armed forces are drafted for only two years, and receive higher pay. Still the Dutch pacifists feel fortunate in having their convictions recognized, and most comply with the law. The maximum penalty for violation of the draft law is three years.

Dutch Resistance

Hannes de Graaf was a missionary in Indonesia when the war with Japan started, and he spent three and a half years in a prisoner of war camp there. From Hugenholtz and Wentink we received more graphic information about the experiences of Dutch pacifists during the war. It was shocking to learn that under the Nazi occupation 122,000 people in Amsterdam alone had been liquidated, of whom 100,000 were Jews. Altogether 250,000 Dutch people were liquidated out of a population of 9,000,000. There are 15,000 Jews left in Holland now.

Pacifists participated in certain underground resistance activities, drawing the line, of course, at anything that risked the taking of life. We learned that windmills were used to warn people across the countryside when German soldiers or police were nearing, the position of the windmill arms being the signal. Pacifists were well

accepted in underground activities. Both Professor Hugenholtz and Jacob Wentink were imprisoned for hiding Jews in their homes. Hugenholtz had Jews in his home for a year and a half, but they were then discovered and sent to a concentration camp where they were liquidated. He received a nine-month prison term.

Nonviolence Valid

At the present time Dutch pacifists are trying to collect all the information they can about nonviolence and its relevance as a method of resolving social conflict situations. In this connection they asked us many questions about our race problem and our experience in combating discrimination by nonviolent methods. From their own trial by fire during the war, they believe nonviolence has proven its validity in the face of violence-run-wild.

Although there are comparatively few COs on the Continent, it was evident that those who do take the position more fully comprehend what is involved than many Americans, because the immediate price that must be paid is so much more obvious. There is no escape from a prison sentence if one is of draft age and refuses to serve in the army. What we call the "cat and mouse" procedure is taken for granted in countries like France, Belgium, and Italy. We were told in France about Cesar Bugany, now serving his sixth sentence. He gets about a year each time, and this process can continue for years yet. Jean Bernard Moreau, after serving at least two terms in France, moved to Brussels, where he can carry on his work until Belgian law drafts him or he is extradited back to France. Philippe Vernier told us about a member of his congregation, Marcel Demaude, recently sent to prison in Belgium. Demaude was offered a parole because of supposed poor health, but refused to accept it. Vernier said to us: "Marcel did not wish to bypass the issue, especially since there was nothing the matter with him physically." Vernier also told us about Jean Van Lierde, a Belgian Catholic CO, who was concerned because Jehovah's Witnesses and other objectors were being sent to prison while he, a Catholic, was not. He suspected preferential treatment because of his religion, and asked a number of members of the national Parliament to protest this favoritism. The publicity given his case made it mandatory for the authorities to take action. He was sentenced to nine months (the usual term) last December, and will be subject to renewed imprisonments now.

In Italy Professor Pioli told us about several COs who are currently imprisoned, and others who have completed terms but are subject to renewed action by the government. The first postwar pacifist to be imprisoned was a young man named Pietro Pinna, who was given a one and a third year sentence. After serving this time the government offered him amnesty, but he would not accept it because he felt it meant admitting his guilt. Later a doctor examined him and gave a falsified report that his health was bad, so that the government was able to dispose of the issue. Another young man named Elevoine Santi gave up a university exemption in order to face the draft directly. The issue of recognizing conscientious objectors was to come up for debate in Parlia-

ment and since Pinna was out of prison, the issue, Santi thought, would be only an abstract one unless he were behind bars. Unfortunately no law respecting conscience was passed, but Santi served more than a year and has only recently been released in very poor health due to terrible conditions in the military prison at Gaeta in southern Italy.

Firsthand Experience

A third Italian CO by the name of Mario Barbani did not refuse induction into the army. He wanted to find out from firsthand experience if the military life was as much a denial of the things in which he believed as he thought it was. A few weeks in the army convinced him that his previous disposition was correct. He chose publicly to break with the system when the troops were being reviewed by a prominent general. He stepped out of line as the general approached him, took off his military insignia, and announced he could not conscientiously remain in the armed forces. He has now been in prison more than a year and is suffering greatly because he is singled out for rough treatment.

In Germany the issue of objection to war seemed to be more alive than in any other country. This is entirely understandable. Large sections of German cities are still lying in ruins. The people feel they have no stake in world politics. They want no part of any future war. Public opinion polls indicate that at least 75 per cent of the people oppose remilitarization. In Hamburg we were told by Dr. Michaltscheff of the War Resisters that a pacifist poster campaign there had netted four hundred new members within three months, most of them youth. At a seminary in Frankfurt we were told that at least one third of the student body was pacifist. We attended part of the conference of the Versohnungsbund (German FOR) and were amazed to find as many as six hundred or more at some of the evening sessions. Of course, since there is no German military establishment at the present time, there is no draft. But the conference, among other things, was trying to work out strategy for the recognition of conscience in any future law that might be drawn.

A Vital Personality

Americans are already familiar with stalwarts of German pacifism such as Wilhelm Mensching. But it is always a new experience, exceeding expectation, to meet a vital personality for the first time. Mensching has been under fire for his pacifism within the Confessional Church, and had just been retested for orthodoxy by church officials before we arrived in Petzen. Here is a man who never said "Heil Hitler!"; who harbored and fed a Russian soldier, an escapee from a prisoner of war camp, during the war even while German soldiers were billeted in his home; who was under suspicion by the Nazis during the war constantly; who had made a successful attempt to bridge the gulf between his community and a group of Polish people, put at hard labor by their German captors during the war, through the simple reconciling act of giving dolls to their children at Christmas time.

Pastor Mensching told us that he tried to implement his Christian

(*Continued on page* 32)

Strength for These Days

The Maximum Resource

By KIRBY PAGE

THE maximum resource open to us in these days of conflict and uncertainty and frustration is vital inter-communication with the living God. Out of right relationship with the Eternal Spirit there flows deeper insight and higher purpose and more power.

Too much emphasis cannot be placed on the necessity of private prayer. Participation in public worship and in the fellowship of a cell group are rewarding supplements, but they are not adequate substitutes for the habit of going into one's closet, shutting the door, and giving God opportunity. Time exposure is essential to the richest friendship with the living God.

One of the easiest forms of vital prayer, and one of the most rewarding, may be called reflective praying. In solitude and in silence, think about important phases of your life, about relationships, about decisions you must make. One after another, bring these consciously into the presence of God. Seek to think his thoughts about them. See them as they appear to him. Desire, yearn to know what God wants you to do about this and about that. Express this longing. Wait, be leisurely. Continue to think. Hold up a problem before God, view it through his eyes. Pursue the inquiry, what does my loving Father think of this, and what does he want me to do about it?

During this period of prayerful reflection, remember that you are being sought. God is alive. He is not inanimate thing, he is no mere idea, he is no impersonal process. He is a Being, not a low form of life, but possesses in himself qualities of thought and affection and volition beyond our childish understanding. He is not an absentee potentate, he is not so high above us as to be beyond our reach. As near as breathing, as close as hands and feet, the living God seeks our companionship and needs our cooperation in the achievement of his holy purpose. As a true mother loves all her children, so our Father loves us individually, one by one, and yearns to enrich our lives. He never treats us as puppets, but always respects the freedom of choice with which he has endowed us. His righteous will cannot be done by automatons or mechanisms, but only by responsive sons and daughters. When we ignore him, he grieves, and when we rebel against him, he suffers in anguish. He needs us, and we need him.

With this awareness, alone, quiet, unhurried, think, think, think. Think the thoughts of God about the problems you face, the decisions you must make. Give God opportunity to direct your thinking, stir your feelings, and strengthen your determination to do what is right, as he leads you to see the right.

Reflective prayer is just one of many forms of interchange with the

(*Continued on page* 32)

Books . . . 1. The Case for Pacifism

When you give a friend a book, you give him something of yourself—a chance to discover for himself the insights and values you cherish most deeply. There are books on these pages for every serious-minded person on your list, as well as several you will want to get yourself. New titles are printed in italics.

THE THEOLOGICAL BASIS OF CHRISTIAN PACIFISM 1.00

Just off the press this month: Canon Charles E. Raven's lectures delivered last year for the Robert Treat Paine Foundation. A Fellowship publication.

THE DAGGER AND THE CROSS 1.00

Prof. Culbert Rutenber's book has been enthusiastically received by pacifist and nonpacifist reviewers alike. A Fellowship publication.

DEFEAT TRIUMPHANT 1.00

A persuasive and moving book by Lewis Maclachlan, British FOR leader.

THE LAW OF LOVE AND THE LAW OF VIOLENCE 1.00

The only English translation of this work of Tolstoi's; formerly $3.

ALTRUISTIC LOVE 3.00

Some of the most stimulating thinking in pacifism is coming from the "laboratory in altruism" of Professor Pitirim A. Sorokin. This first published study to come out of it is provocative and important.

. . . for Christmas

THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE 2.00

Another printing of Richard Gregg's ageless classic of pacifism. No pacifist should be without it.

GANDHI: FIGHTER WITHOUT A SWORD 3.00

By Jeanette Eaton, this biography of Gandhi for young people is beautifully illustrated and easy to read.

2. People and Causes

PRIVATE VIEW OF A PUBLIC MAN 2.00

The warm and witty story of Leyton Richards, British pacifist who loved America deeply. By Elizabeth Richards, his wife. Imported.

Books . . .

COURAGE IN BOTH HANDS 1.50

Allan Hunter's successor to the popular *Heroes of Good Will.* These stories of people who put—and are putting—love and good will to work in conflict situations. Paper edition, 50c.

RUFUS JONES SPEAKS TO OUR TIME 4.00

Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick's new book about the great Quaker leader who founded the American Friends Service Committee.

THEY SHALL BE FREE 3.00

Allan Chalmers, FOR National Council member and chairman of the Scottsboro Committee, tells the story of the 19-year fight to free the "Scottsboro boys."

GANDHI'S LETTERS TO A DISCIPLE 2.50

Selected and edited by John Haynes Holmes, these letters give a wonderful insight into the human-ness of Gandhi.

THE BEST OF DICK SHEPPARD 2.50

Collected from the works of one of the great pacifists of our time, the founder of Britain's Peace Pledge Union.

IT OCCURRED TO ME .85
IT SO HAPPENED .85

Muriel Lester's autobiographical books, selling regularly at $2 each. Buy them separately at 85c; both books for $1.50. Supply limited.

3. Meditations and the Life of the Spirit

A METHOD OF PRAYER 1.50

A Seventeenth-Century mystic and authority on prayer, Johannes Kelpius, is the author of this new book just published by Harpers.

THE WAY TO MYSTICISM 3.75

Published October 31, this new work by Joseph James, one of Britain's foremost writers on this subject, will be of profound interest to the growing body of those exploring the meaning and values of mysticism.

FRANCOIS FENELON: STUDY OF A PERSONALITY 3.50

This new work by Catherine Little, just published by Harpers, is another valuable addition to the library of mysticism.

TRAINING FOR THE LIFE OF THE SPIRIT 1.00

The perennial favorite by Gerald Herald, now in one volume.

THERE IS A SPIRIT 1.00

In time for Christmas, a new printing of the Nayler Sonnets, by Kenneth Boulding, in attractive gift binding.

DEEP IS THE HUNGER 2.50

Howard Thurman, former national vice-chairman of the FOR, is the author of this fine group of meditations and readings.

WITH THE MASTER 1.50

NOT AS THE WORLD GIVETH 1.50

These powerful meditations, taken from the original *Avec Le Maitre*, by the French pacifist Philippe Vernier, have made an enviable place for themselves among the permanent classics of religious literature.

. . . for Christmas

THE BOMB THAT FELL ON AMERICA 1.00

This long poem by Hermann Hagedorn touched the conscience of many a reader when first published after Hiroshima. Revised and strengthened since then, it is a powerful bit of literature.

STRENGTHENING THE SPIRITUAL LIFE 1.00

Most recent book by well-known FOR member Nels Ferré, it deals with worship, and has chapters on personal and family devotions.

Books . . . 4. General Reading

THE BLACK FOX 3.00

The newest by the versatile and erudite Gerald Heard, called by the publisher "a novel of the supernatural." It is the story of a man overcome by evil, and of the overcoming of evil in turn by suffering love.

IS ANOTHER WORLD WATCHING? 2.75

If you have dismissed the "flying saucers" as "mass hypnosis," or as observation balloons belonging to the Navy, this book will give you the biggest surprise of your life. Gerald Heard turns his brilliant mind and immense fund of knowledge to examination and speculation as to the nature and origin of the odd craft.

THE PENDLE HILL READER 2.75

A collection of some of the best published works of the Quaker center, edited by Herrymon Maurer.

THE COLLISION OF EAST AND WEST 4.50

A provocative analysis of the east-west tension, from a pacifist orientation, by the author of *Great Soul* and editor at Pendle Hill Herrymon Maurer.

ABOVE ALL NATIONS .35

The American edition of this classic of "deeds of mercy by 'enemies'," edited by FOR-member Devere Allen, formerly sold for $2.00. Supply limited.

. . . for Christmas

WHY THEY BEHAVE LIKE RUSSIANS .35

Formerly $2.75, this book by John Fischer gives one of the best pictures of life inside the Soviet Union it is possible to find. Pacifists will not agree with his policy suggestions, but the rest of the book is good.

THE ROAD TO WAR: 1945-1951
MILITARISM IN EDUCATION
AMERICA, RUSSIA AND THE BOMB — 3 for .50

These three studies, prepared by John Swomley for the National Council Against Conscription, are the most authoritative studies of America's mushrooming militarism available. Each, 25c.

A Buddhist priest tells how many sects and groups are uniting for

Japan's Struggle for Peace

By GYOTSU SATO

Translated by Takao Akiyama, *Kyoto Fellowship of Reconciliation*

THE IMPRESSION has gone abroad that the only Japanese sentiment unfavorable to rearmament is Communist. What is not generally known is the fact that Japan has a growing nonviolent resistance movement, much of it undergirded by religious faith. The Religionists' Peace Movement took the initiative in the formation on July 28 of the Japan National Congress for the Promotion of Peace, which still looks to zealous pacifists from among Christians, Buddhists and Shintoists for leadership. The Congress appeals to cultural groups, labor unions, and women's societies all over the country. Including both urban and rural groups, the movement claims 3,500,000 supporters.

The Congress' founding statement reads:

"During the past half-century, the Japanese people were a nation possessed of imperialistic designs, encroaching as they did upon territories of their neighboring countries by means of armed force. Now it is high time that our people atone for their past misconduct by serving their Asiatic brothers and sisters in the spirit of repentance, through making efforts for the prevention of a war that would involve the whole of mankind.

"We should adhere to the spirit of nonviolence and disarmament at this crucial time. Armed force never produces peace. Peace can be attained only by peaceful means.

"It would be a most foolhardy act on our part if we attempted to rearm with the objective of guaranteeing security for our country, since this would only aggravate the existing armed division of the world, possibly leading to a world war and ultimately bringing about the complete breakdown of civilization.

"It is, therefore, our duty to observe the spirit of our Constitution renouncing armaments, without siding with either of the two great hostile camps or concluding a military agreement with any country, but by concluding a peace treaty with all belligerent nations, thus avoiding a separate peace treaty which would leave us in a state of hostilities with one part of the world. Only by so doing can we lead the world in the noble mission of renouncing war and establishing a permanent peace.

"Hence, those Japanese who truly love peace should rally their forces and appeal to the conscience of mankind by keeping alive the spirit of our Constitution for disarmament and by endeavoring to establish a peaceful Japan.

"Having organized this Japan National Congress for the Promotion

of Peace, we hereby declare that we will promote a powerful campaign for peace and unite ourselves in striving for the realization of peace for our country as well as for the world."

Peace and Religion

Recently, we have been doing street preaching. Very few have heckled us or opposed us. Our listeners seem to agree with us and to realize that this is something different from a Communist movement. Laboring people stand confidently against rearmament and for nonviolent pacifism even before we mention these things.

We must build world peace upon the foundation of a movement for the restoration of religion. I confess that during the last war, most Buddhists toadied to the men of power. I do not think this was a fault of the religion itself, but was a sin committed in human weakness. The same humanity is at the same time possessed of a shining, precious spirituality. We are quite sure that this spirituality can be directed toward the same Buddhahood of our Father Buddha, by brightening and nurturing it until, as we say, we discover the Buddha nature.

Unless we see this noble spirituality even in those who appeal to violence, we will fall into the trap of intolerance against the intolerant. Even in Communists we can find that hidden "inner light" that George Fox found. We believe that Communists can be saved through that light. I have read the Fellowship of Reconciliation pamphlet, "Antidote for Aggression," and find that I agree completely. It was just the thing I had thirsted for.

On the contrary, "100 Things to Know About Communists," published by the Committee on Un-American Activities, has only the negative effect of stirring up anti-Communist hatred. It hardly partakes of the kind of religion intended for the salvation of sinners. Thus, the United States as a nation is being unfaithful to divine teaching. The same, of course, can be said of Russia and also of Japan. It only takes a few blind leaders to mislead the masses into the abyss. Communistic fascism and German nazism are alike at this point.

We Buddhists think of a nation as a single personality. As a unit, a nation affects world society for either good or evil. When Japan as one personalistic whole goes wrong, even though individuals may say, "This is not my personal intention," she cannot be saved. Present-day Japan is being represented to the world by the words of only a very few people. Journalism ignores those who walk in the right way, as if bribed with money or threatened with suppression by the authorities.

In Kyoto, the government banned our movement because of the actual infiltration of Communists. It appeared for a while as if even the religionists would go along with those of Communist tinge; instead of their intended extension of peace, they got only agitation and opposition. I have been insisting that we should overcome the forces of violent revolution with a religious faith in the power of nonviolence. We have asked Reichi Ninobe, a Buddhist priest, to take leadership in Kyoto; I am sure that a true religious pacifist movement will result. At worst, the labor element could become merely anti-American, if infiltrated by Communists. But as long as we are

guiding the movement, we will offer encouragement to the Socialist Party to avoid being used as a tool for war-promoting politics.

Recently we have been circulating a statement to the public, embodying our belief in disarmament and our renunciation of war, which reads as follows:

"For reasons of religious conscience, in order to maintain the ideal expressed by the disarmament clause of the Japanese Constitution, and believing in the priceless spiritual nature of all mankind that aspires to peace; in the name of that humanity we absolutely renounce war and refuse to recognize it or any other form of violence, or any temptation thereto, as a means to accomplish peace.

"Therefore, as we believe the present Government's attitude toward peace and the treaty of peace does not represent our will, we request that all negotiations and arrangements for rearmament, leasing of military bases to foreign nations and military agreements be immediately discontinued.

"Also, we request that the manufacture, assembly and possession of arms and other war materials, as well as trading in them, be declared illegal throughout Japan.

"Finally, we desire that our movement and objectives be given publicity through all sorts of religious organs to all people across the world."

During the months of July and August alone, more than 50,000 persons signed this statement, and the movement is still gathering momentum.

Today, while the world is making atomic bombs, proximity fuse bombs, napalm bombs and bacterial bombs, the names "God," "peace" and "justice" do not represent three separate entities. Even war waged for the sake of justice and peace, or war in the name of God, is itself unjust.

No Militarization

We would be grateful to the American people if Japan were not to be made a military base against communism. Furthermore, it is futile for the Government and its parties to count on the National Police Reserve, aided by heavy weapons, to protect the nation against communism. It will only cause the rise of a resistance movement. Therefore, since the labor movement already clearly opposes communistic violent revolution, it would be best for Japan to remain unarmed, as the Allies demanded in the first place. If Japan were to begin internecine warfare, it would be a sin for which we should deserve to suffer any punishment of divine judgment.

One way to be saved from this is to offer our bodies as a sacrifice before evil-doers, to change their evil minds and to influence them to use politics and finance only for the welfare and peace of mankind. At the same time, we must teach and guide the common citizens not to be swayed by the temptations of financial and political leaders. These sound like two different methods: actually, they are two aspects of one method.

The Christian Bible supports the faith that might cannot overcome right. Believing this, we wish to spread abroad the word of God, which is gentle, but cannot be misinterpreted. As an ex-soldier who bears part of the responsibility for the leadership of the last war, I cannot forsake this movement. If necessary, I will give my life for it.

News from the Peace Front

New Selective Service Regulations Issued

Instead of being classified IV-E, COs who will not do non-combatant duty in the armed forces will be classified I-O. This classification follows immediately after I-A and I-A-O, and it signifies that the CO is available for assignment to civilian service. Official regulations pertaining to the nature of this service have not yet been issued.

The designation I-W signifies a CO who is in civilian service, and I-W (Rel.) a CO who has completed 24 consecutive months of assigned civilian service.

I-O men will be given the regular army physical examination and must pass it before they can be ordered into civilian assignment. The new classifications also apply to doctors under the draft.

Other regulations that may affect COs are:

1. Registrants may be sent classification questionnaires and be classified immediately after registration.

2. Registrants are eligible for military duty or civilian service at 18½ years if the local board's supply of registrants over 19 is exhausted.

3. Any registrant wishing a personal appearance before his local board must make the request within the 10-day period after classification. This period *cannot* be extended by the local board, as it previously could.

4. In order to qualify for automatic dependency deferment (III-A) the registrant must have a child.

5. Any registrant who was deferred on or after June 1, 1951, is eligible for the draft until his 35th birthday. Registrants who do not receive deferments are eligible for the draft until their 26th birthday. Special registrants (as doctors) continue eligible until their 51st birthday.

The effect of these regulation changes, according to Lyle Tatum of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, is to reopen the files of all registrants, and of course all IV-E men will be reclassified, this step preparing the way for assignment to civilian service as soon as the appropriate regulations are issued. All COs who wish deferment as students, on grounds of dependency, or for any other reason, should immediately get their claims before their local boards.

No men should be assigned to any civilian service until Selective Service issues its regulations. If a local draft board attempts to assign a CO before that, on its own plan, he should contact the CCCO immediately at 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania.

Dr. Paul A. Schilpp, FOR member and professor at Northwestern University, is the general Editor of the Library of Living Philosophers of the Tudor Publishing Co.

National Conference Attended by 367

The Annual National Conference of the FOR, held this year on the weekend of September 7-9 at Lakeside, on the shores of Lake Erie in northern Ohio, was attended by 367 men, women and children. At the Saturday evening public meeting, which was addressed by André Trocmé, there were 322 registered members of the Conference, plus a number of people from the surrounding towns.

The Conference opened on Friday night, with a public meeting addressed by Dr. Donald Soper, minister of Kingsway Hall Methodist Church in downtown London. Speaking on "The Pacifist Message for Our Day," he listed three of the most important practical expressions of Christian pacifism. First and foremost, he named obedience, declaring that the Christian faith is 99 percent obedience, and the other percent is also obedience. At the moment of obedience to the will of God we release a force into the situation that was not there before. Second, he said we must witness to our faith anywhere and everywhere, in economic, political and spiritual ways. "When," he asked his audience, "did you last witness for pacifism in a place where it was bound to be opposed?" Third, he said, we must proclaim our pacifism as an integral part of the historical Christian Church.

Dr. Soper's quick wit and quick thinking are legendary in London, where for twenty years he has spoken twice a week at street meetings, and is the only speaker in Hyde Park for whom an audience collects before he even arrives. He began his speech to the FOR by saying, "I don't know all the answers, but I am beginning to think I know most of the questions!"

During the day on Saturday special interest groups met to discuss the bringing up of children, civil defense, payment of taxes, pacifism in the churches, on campuses, and with high school students, CO problems, local FOR groups, and the implications of personal pacifism. At a session of the entire conference buzz sessions discussed cooperation with the Stockholm peace appeal and other Communist front groups, and decided the FOR as an organization should not cooperate with them; discussed Point 4 and similar projects, and approved support of them if they were not used for military purposes; and discussed whether to work in churches, or among college or high school young people, deciding on churches first, but with college and high school very important. One buzz group, in bringing its report, raised a laugh by announcing that the FOR should "go along with any action so long as it is positive, but don't push anything definite."

Saturday night a large crowd heard André Trocmé, European FOR Secretary, speak on the world situation, with particular attention to Europe and the problems of the European nations.

The Conference sent to Secretary of State Dean Acheson a statement expressing deep concern over certain aspects of the Treaty with Japan that was then about to be signed, and said that steps toward Japanese rearmament would be politically unwise and morally wrong, and pledged to support Japanese efforts to prevent it.

Some Paroles Granted; Second Prosecutions Ease

Roy Knight and *Donald Mott*, each of whom had served an 18-month sentence for refusal to register, were freed on August 3 from second prosecutions. The United States Attorney had agreed to fill out questionnaires for them, although neither of the men provided any information, and the questionnaires were sent to the local board. The board refused to reconsider their classifications (which were 1-A), and their attorney took the case to the Iowa State Appeal Board, which reclassified them, Knight in III-A and Mott in V-A. The court then dropped the case. No legal points about second prosecutions were established, but it was illustrated that administrative procedures, where officials are willing to use them, make it possible to avoid second prosecutions.

John M. Fugitt of California was acquitted August 21 on a charge of refusal to submit to induction, in the U. S. District Court in Los Angeles of Judge James Carter. The local board had failed to reclassify him after he had appeared before them for a personal interview, as they were required to do.

James Dawson and *Charles Leonard* each received a sentence of two years in prison on August 4, in the court of Judge Edward J. Dimock in New York City.

Jim George of California and *Loy Imboden* of Ohio have been released on bond pending appeal.

T. Vail Palmer of Pennsylvania was released from Danbury on September 1 on good time.

Paul and David Seaver of Philadelphia were paroled on September 15 from Danbury.

Dwight Platt, a nonregistrant serving a year-and-a-day sentence in Springfield, has been granted parole to take effect in late November.

Charles Hoeh of Santa Rosa, California, was convicted August 29 of refusing to submit to induction, and sentenced to three years in prison. The jury reportedly convicted him reluctantly, with several of the women on it in tears at the prospect of sending him to prison.

Keith Barnhart of Cloverdale, California, was sentenced to two years in prison on September 18 by Judge Louis Goodman in San Francisco.

Robert Tyrell of San Francisco, serving a three-year sentence for refusing to submit to induction, has been ordered released on bail pending appeal.

Joel, Orin, Paul and Sid Doty of Bruno, Minnesota, have been transferred from Springfield, Mo., where all were in solitary and then segregation for refusing to work, to the prison at Ashland, Kentucky. They are working at Ashland, and report that conditions are altogether different there.

Kenneth Champney, James Lawson, James Pierce, Don Nagler and Duane Metzger have been transferred from Mill Point to Ashland. They had been working to break down racial segregation in housing and dining at Mill Point, hoping to bring it about gradually by establishing interracial tables in the dining hall for those who wished it. Complicating factors, as well as the race issue, caused feeling against it to run high, and when it continued, with several incidents of violence, the COs were transferred. Several of the most violent opponents were also transferred, to another prison.

Freddie Emanuel Granden, 21, of

Hailey, Idaho, was sentenced to 30 months in prison for failure to report for induction, and given a lecture reminding him that "in a Communist-dominated country he wouldn't have lasted 30 minutes." Granden had asked for a IV-E classification, but was given I-A-O.

Walter Kobil, a member of Jehovah's Witnesses, was freed when Federal Judge Frank A. Picard, in Detroit, directed the jury to find him "not guilty" of draft evasion. When Kobil went to his draft board for a hearing, the board refused to hear the two witnesses who accompanied him, classified him I-A.

Cite Treatment for Nerve Gas Exposure

The New York City Office of Civil Defense has issued a memo to doctors about the effects of the nerve gases developed during World War II, and treatment of people exposed to them. "Some of the nerve gases are persistent," the report says; "others are relatively non-persistent. They may be absorbed into the body through the lungs by inhalation, through the skin and mucous membranes such as those of the eye, and through the gastro-intestinal tract by swallowing saliva contaminated with the material. The symptoms produced by this war gas depend upon the amount absorbed. . . . The action of the gas is prompt, and in contrast to the irritant war gases, it has no latent period. The inhalation of a sufficiently high concentration for a few seconds may cause death. Exposure to traces of the vapor causes marked constriction of the pupils in a few minutes, usually accompanied by . . . sudden difficulty in breathing, coughing, and shortness of breath, and a watery discharge from the nose. . . .

"Mild cases of nerve gas poisoning may show such mental symptoms as giddiness, tension, anxiety, insomnia and excessive dreaming. The symptoms of depression, restlessness, tremor, emotional instability, and irrational behavior may occur after a more severe exposure."

Project Pacific Peace Successful

The Far West FOR's August-September Project Pacific Peace, which was intended to bring before the public the objections to the rearmament of Japan, was widely reported in the papers at various stages. As indicated in a news story in the October issue of FELLOWSHIP, a number of different activities, including public statements, poster walks, speaking, letter writing and literature distribution were engaged in. On September 4 and 5 groups poster walked outside the San Francisco Opera House where the signing of the Japanese Treaty was to take place.

A statement signed by four hundred American women protesting the rearmament of Japan was sent to FOR-member Mrs. Tomiko Kora, member of the Japanese parliament, and a scrapbook containing clippings, samples of the literature, and other items relating to the project, was also sent to Japan.

During the Project, more than 1500 copies of *The Women of Japan Speak* were distributed, as well as over 10,000 leaflets on the rearmament of Japan, the Pacific Pact, the world food problem, and the dangers of armaments.

Peace Personalities Abroad

Farm Paper Promotes Pacifism

A middle-aged couple in a small Australian town began eight years ago to circulate a weekly newspaper in a traditional cattle-rearing district, and appropriately called it "The Dairy Farmer." Besides advice on general farming activities, they added news of pacifist movements. To their surprise people bought the paper in spite of the extra material and today it has a circulation of 12,000.

The couple, Grace and Horace Tossell, migrated to Australia from England in 1920 after the husband had worked on the land as a conscientious objector in World War I. They are members of the Society of Friends, the FOR, and the Peace Pledge Union. Although they are 80 miles from a sizable town, they are occasionally visited by such pacifist leaders as Muriel Lester.

Four Americans Fasting in Austria

The four American pacifists, Art Emery, David Dellinger, Bill Sutherland and Ralph DiGia, who have gone to Europe to attempt to persuade Europeans both West and East of the Iron Curtain to refuse to support their governments' military preparations, fasted from September 21 to 28 at Strasbourg, on the Franco-German frontier, and in October on the eastern border of Germany, near Linz, Austria. There the Danube separates Austria from the Eastern Zone of Germany, and the boys met Russian soldiers for the first time, at the far end of the bridge that spans the river there.

The group, of whom Emery and Sutherland are members of the FOR and all are Peacemakers, has been refused permission to go into West Germany by the Allied Military Government, and Eastern Germany has likewise refused them entrance. Their progress through France, Switzerland and Austria by bicycle, during which they passed out leaflets setting forth their pacifist beliefs, and talked with as many people as possible, made a genuine impact on public opinion in Western Europe although more than once they ran into disillusionment with Garry Davis' change of mind and therefore with other American pacifists.

During the fast at Strasbourg they were taken to the police station and ordered to return to Paris. They refused, however, and went back next day to the border, and continued their fast for the rest of the week.

I.F.O.R. Youth Meet in Denmark

The Youth Conference of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation took place in Elsinore, Denmark, this last summer. Thirty members from eight different nations came together under the theme "Christian Youth and the Problems of Peace." It was the first meeting of the IFOR Youth and it showed how seriously they searched for an explanation of these problems. Different lectures: The International Situation by John Ferguson; The East-West Problem by

Irmgard Schuchardt; True and False Internationalism by Leif-Eeg Oloffson; Peace Work through the Schools by Aage Morville; Reconciliation between East and West by Percy Bartlett; Practical Peacework, a Personal Responsibility by Irmgard Schuchardt. There were reports of the different groups in Austria, France, the USA, Holland; discussion groups on the problems of the Christian pacifist organization, military service and CO's, the FOR message of the youth to the churches. Between sessions there were excursions and views. The International Peoples' High School in Elsinore was the right place for such a beginning.

Americans present at the Conference were James Finucane, Jane Oesterling and David McReynolds, and John Swomley at the opening session.

British Lord Advocates Disarmament

The Earl of Darnley, speaking in the British House of Lords last summer, urged the government to "make a declaration of their willingness to sponsor a call to men and women of all nations . . . to unite in friendliness to abolish forever the barbarous practice of attempting to right human wrongs by recourse to war. The old methods . . . have not made any improvement," he said. "The same old things go on from year to year: power politics, threats of force, threats of 'serious consequences' and meetings of politicians in various numbers from one to thirty. . . . It seems to me that there has got to be a total *volte-face* against everything so far held allowable in war before the vista of peace can be envisaged."

Lord Darnley suggested that a beginning could be made by one nation which would set an example "by expressing a genuine desire to cooperate with every nation, of every color and creed, to improve the general world conditions."

At about the same time H. W. Franklin, President of the British National Union of Railwaymen, speaking at the Union's annual general meeting, said, "As a confirmed pacifist, I feel that . . . one nation must take the risk of total disarmament, for this would show to everyone that such a nation had no desire to attack the others and, I believe, would be an example which the peoples of other countries would be bound to follow."

CARE Offers Holiday Package

Whole canned turkey, averaging 7 lbs. steam-roasted, packed in lard; 1 lb. canned bacon; 8 oz. butter; 1 lb. plum pudding; 1 lb. coffee or tea; 29 oz. peaches; 1¼ oz. mustard; 1 lb. chocolate candy; 1 lb. hard candy; 15 oz. raisins. $18.75 each. Deadline for Christmas orders, Nov. 30. Guaranteed delivery to Austria, Belgium, France, W. Germany and Berlin, Gt. Britain, Greece, Italy, The Netherlands, Norway, Yugoslavia, Japan, Okinawa and the Philippines. CARE, 20 Broad Street, New York 5.

Mayor Shinzo Hamai of Hiroshima, Japan, who would like to make his city a symbol of peace, is anxious to get books, particularly on peace and city planning, but of other kinds too.

Philadelphia FOR Has Weekly News Analysis

The Philadelphia FOR, of which Charles Walker is the Executive Secretary, is carrying on a Monday Noon Luncheon Series of discussions, a type of meeting it has found highly successful. The meetings begin with a ten-minute news analysis, then a speaker makes a 15-minute talk, followed by discussion. Pacifists who may be there from out of town are warmly invited to attend.

Emerys' Car Sold for Taxes

A 1939 two-door sedan belonging to Art and Carolyn Emery of Earlham, Iowa, was sold at auction on September 18 by the Bureau of Internal Revenue to help pay their back taxes. The Emerys in 1947 and 1948 refused to pay about thirty percent of their tax, figuring that was the proportion that went directly for war. In 1949 they refused about seventy percent, and the total tax the government figured they still owed was $240.

After auctioneer H. H. Jopling, field division chief of the Internal Revenue Bureau, had explained the terms of the sale, Mrs. Emery stepped forward and appealed to the crowd not to buy the car because the money would go for destructive purposes. (Art Emery is one of the four young pacifists now in Europe, attempting to appeal to the peoples of both West and East to refuse to participate in war or preparations for war.) Mrs. Emery, who spoke quietly for about fifteen minutes, explained their pacifist stand, and their attitude toward the warmaking activities of this and other governments, and said that the money they had refused to pay for taxes had been given to the FOR.

The audience and the auctioneer heard her in silence, and while most, if not all, disagreed with what she said, many showed that they admired her for having the courage of her convictions. After Mrs. Emery had finished speaking, the auction got under way, and the car was sold for $145, still less than the tax owing.

Italians Build "Community of Love"

A young Italian Protestant pastor and seven friends began in 1946 to build a "community of love" in the Piedmontese foothills. They called it "Agape," the Greek word for spiritual love. As they felled trees, cracked rocks and poured foundations, they were joined by prominent churchmen like W. A. Visser 't Hooft of the World Council of Churches who laid brick, and Stephen Mill, Anglican bishop, who trundled wheelbarrows of stone. Judges, attorneys and professional men from all over Europe, representing many denominations and nationalities, worked beside 1,000 men and women to build this village devoted to Christian labor and prayer. Labor as a form of prayer is central at Agape and is recognized not as a hated necessity but as an act of love to be participated in by all people.

In August, 1951, some 2,000 Protestant Christians, together with several lay Catholics, came by bus, train, car and on foot to dedicate the main building which combines a refectory, meeting place and prayer hall.

Jottings

The FOR took in 75 new members during September, as compared with only 27 in August, to make a total of 571 new members so far this year.

The only Negro synod of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (Southern) has been dissolved. However, this does not eliminate segregation, for the Negro presbyteries involved will remain as units in white synods.

An article by L. Harold DeWolf in the August 30 issue of *The Christian Advocate*, entitled "Christians and Subversive Fronts," lists the FOR, along with the Women's International League, the Civil Liberties Union, and some other organizations, as a genuine peace and social action organization. The article's main purpose is to persuade Christians not to let fear of being called red prevent them from joining useful organizations.

Dr. E. Stanley Jones, FOR member, began his fifth swing around the country in September, crusading for a united church.

Robert Gemmer, longtime FOR member from Indianapolis, now a member of the National Council and the Midwest Committee, was installed on September 9 as pastor of the First Church of the Brethren in Cleveland, Ohio. Mr. Gemmer is an ordained minister of the Disciples of Christ.

Senator James H. Duff, formerly Governor of Pennsylvania, has asked President Truman to make conscientious objectors available to serve in understaffed mental institutions and tuberculosis hospitals. He reminded the President that during World War II the services of COs had averted a critical shortage of attendants in Pennsylvania state hospitals.

Recently two members, entirely independently, made the FOR the beneficiary of the airline insurance that insures the individual during a particular flight. Others may wish to do the same.

Principal William Lewis of the Martinsville, Indiana, public school, who has recently become active in the Jehovah's Witnesses and now refuses to salute the flag, has been threatened with mob violence. He has had to stay away from the school, where fifty men and women have been "keeping a watch" for him.

The National Conference of Methodist Youth at its annual meeting in August re-elected FOR member Jameson Jones as President, and FOR member James Lawson, who is now in prison as a CO, as Vice-President.

New York *Journal-American* columnist E. V. Durling on June 1 sympathetically reported on Swedish COs and the alternative service to which they are assigned.

Letters

Personal Point Four

The Editors
FELLOWSHIP:

There is much talk in Washington about "Point Four" help to underdeveloped countries and the almost microscopically small appropriations for this purpose (compared with what is spent on armaments), and the people do not protest against such disbalance of the ways to win the world by sympathy and, on the other hand, staving it off by fear. The greater number of people are not filled with the spirit of confidence, adventure and outstreaming love; luckily, they are also not filled with despair, fright and hate; they are just sick with uncertainty, listlessness and doubt, and act along the avenues of least resistance. They do not protest against heavy taxes to sustain the armament-race, but also, they would not welcome taxes for a war of loving kindness. (To be sure, with just the same ineffective grumbling as about "defense" taxes, they would pay, if the law required it.)

"Point Four" help by governments will always be coupled with motives of selfishness because governments are institutions for self-protection and not for self-sacrifice. The material goods which governments can command may be welcome by the world's needy. The spirit of giving must come from the individual citizens under these governments. The government can command the resources of the healthy sympathetic, of the sick and of the recalcitrant. The right spirit can come *only* from the healthy minority, from the few who do not just day-dream about the future but who have an action-compelling vision of a coming world of love and cooperation.

Let me state at the outset that in an undertaking of this kind the usual appeals for funds to charitable people will not do. Charitable people feel so over-run and over-burdened with demands on their goodness (or demands for expiatory sacrifices to make good for their sins) that a voluntary "point four" chest would not fare too well from this source. More personal participation by the good people is required—and more personal participation can tap modern-style charitable resources which are not available for other competing charity-chests.

The people in under-developed countries need food, clothing, sanitation and medical help, the first steps in education, the three R's, and some leisure. This means we must procure agricultural goods, textiles, certain chemicals, paper, print and bookbinding and a plan to supply these with sufficient regularity so as to remove the ever present anxiety and complete preoccupation with the satisfaction of the most basic material needs to sustain life. While the cost of distribution, paper, raw textiles and seed (which are prime capital) still must come from old-fashioned charity, production of food-stuff-staples, clothing and school-books is very well adaptable to part-time-spare-time labor-contribution by volunteer co-operators.

At first, a small city-circle can sew clothing, while a suburb or country garden-club can produce and pack dried peas and beans. Second, when the example has brought new volunteers, some city-fellows can procure printing facilities and go into production of school text-

books, while some garden clubs may add medical herbs.

Gradually the volunteers will learn practically about simple ways of producing goods as differing from the mass-production methods which we are so used to nowadays—but the simpler methods and usage of better hand-tools are the ones which must first be taught in underdeveloped countries before they can learn and adopt more advanced methods and power-tools.

The system of spare-time-simple-method production of goods-to-give-away (in stage one and two) may look very uneconomical to those who have extensive experience with power-tool factory methods. They may suggest rather to "give a few pennies instead of a few hours" in which one could earn much more. I am not recommending the abolition of modern mass-production at home, I am not opposing the introduction of power-production abroad. But the jump from the wooden tool to the gasoline tractor, from the shovel to the bulldozer is not feasible. The intermediate stages may be foreshortened, but they cannot be entirely bypassed.

And there is also the practical experience of what kind of giving brings most satisfaction to the giver and the receiver: Hungry, in Austria after the First World War, I was once grateful for Allied help. It may seem that to a hungry man a loaf of bread would be the same if it came in a "CARE" package or in one made up by friends abroad. I received both. The "CARE" package was nice and useful, but impersonal, factory-made. The friend's package was giving with the goods the feeling that somebody is concerned with one's own detailed and particular needs; so to speak, the bread tasted better because love was baked into it.

In the third stage, the Volunteer-Point-Four Organization would approach the workers (through their union) and their employers in certain suitable industries to join the volunteer work jointly. E.g., the workers in and the owners of a factory making hospital supplies like surgical dressings or nurses' uniforms or insecticides such as can be used for large-scale pest-control. They may agree to participate on a worker-employer equal share contribution basis: The workers would

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946.

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3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

ALFRED HASSLER, *Editor*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 18th day of September, 1951.

JOSEPH L. TORRISI, *Notary Public,* State of New York

(SEAL) (My commission expires March 30, 1953)

contribute four hours overtime per week, this being (at a forty-hour week) a value equal to ten percent of their regular wage income. The employer would figure the price of a week's production less its labor-cost and less the week's mark-up, arriving thereby at the week's "material plus overhead" cost, from which he would contribute ten percent in the form of material-supplies and overhead-producing expenses (building rent, electric current, gas, etc.) at cost plus his talents as a production-manager, purchasing agent and finance comptroller, without which talent-contribution no enterprise can be maintained.

In the fourth stage, employees and manufacturers in a chain of supporting industries would be approached. The first manufacturer (or a group of primary suppliers) would thus ship contributed raw material to the second or intermediate manufacturer, who would ship to the final producer, who would ship to the "Plan's" distribution center or mission. In this way miners could contribute coal and ore, mills and smelters could give steel and non-ferrous metals, and agricultural implements could be shipped to the "Plan's" outlet.

I believe that a private volunteer-undertaking of this sort will make at least twice as many people happy as the best-organized government plan based on the power to tax. The voluntary enterprise will be appreciated by the receiver and will have its boon for the offerer. Actually, one can never give something for nothing. There are bound to be compensations: The act of giving lifts the giver's spirits and expands his ego; if effort is connected with the giving, he feels useful; if the effort is a group-effort, he is gratified by the feeling of belonging, the most desirable human relations. I should like very much to hear from anyone who is interested in this voluntary Point Four.

ERNEST KERPEN
115-38, 155th Street
Jamaica, N. Y.

In Time

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Thanks again to all in the Fellowship headquarters for the good work that is everlasting. I am sure it is all doing good, although we realize so little a part of the response, much hidden deeply in souls who are yet afraid—but in time will tell others, and one by one they will understand.

LETHA B. HOOK
Lebanon, Indiana

HOUSER (*Cont. from page* 13)
faith by his personal motto: "No fear, no bitterness." After our talk with Mensching we knew that this was a man who had not out of ease fabricated his motto, but out of experience in facing external struggle and overcoming inner conflict.

PAGE (*Cont. from page* 14)
living God. The prayers of thanksgiving, confession, commitment intercession also are pathways to right relationship, with God and with man. Strength for these days comes from the habit of daily private prayer, week after week month after month through the years.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, Room 115, 213 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.

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The FOR National Council will not permit the sale of "A. J." in person, and in any event the price might be prohibitive, but we can offer the next best thing: 11 issues—a year's subscription—to the magazine that carries A. J. Muste's articles regularly, for only two dollars! And, for a bonus, some forty other articles and meditations by other leading pacifists, plus a hundred-odd pages of peace news from around the world, reviews of books of significance to peace workers, and a miscellaneous collection of pictures, poems and comments of importance. Can you think of a more effective gift for the right person?

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(to be hung or pasted in a conspicuous place unless acted upon today)

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√ **The mails are crowded and slow, and become slower as Christmas gets nearer.**

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